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Illegitimate children are rare 584 [848]

rare. It is said to be the custom to do away with them, though this is certainly not invariable.

Except of course in the case of *kerari* there is no necessity for a 'long engagement'. In one instance a girl had asked her sweetheart to take her away and marry her quickly, as she feared that if the matter were delayed some other boy might come along and disjoin her affections from him.

An Orokaiva youth is not put to the necessity of waiting till his income is adequate to matrimony. There are no expenses of upkeep in an Orokaiva household, and it is solely a question of furnishing a bride-price, for which he will be able to draw upon his father and his sympathetic clansmen.

*Marriage Ceremonies.* The actual ceremonies of marriage— 585 583
such as they are—depend in some degree upon the nature of the transaction. In most cases of capture and elopement there are naturally enough no rites celebrating the first cohabitation of husband and wife: the former simply appropriates the latter or entices her to his home. In the instances—frequent as they are—where the bride's people withhold their consent or are taken by surprise, they will come in force next morning to the village to abuse husband and wife, and they may even endeavour to drag the latter away. On one occasion I saw a runaway bride very roughly handled by the women of her own village and finally led away, stripped and weeping, to her home. But in the usual instance it appears that this visit from the outraged people of the bride is nothing more than a form. They make a pretence of dragging away the woman, but they really acquiesce with a bad grace in her remaining. Thus an elderly woman of Korisata tells how she clung to a corner of her husband's house when her own people came to remove her by force. Her people returned without her and, as in all such cases, received payment in due course.

Where the bride's people do not actually lay hands on 585 578
her, they may content themselves with vituperating her husband. Sometimes he is subjected to indignities of a more tangible nature. Endeavouring on one occasion to elicit something about marriage ceremonies, I began by telling my informants of the pretty customs of throwing rice and

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585 578 confetti; and then asked if they ever did anything of the sort themselves. This did not meet with a very encouraging response until one of the group answered with perfect seriousness that they sometimes threw human excrement at the husband. This somewhat stunning reply became more intelligible when my informants explained that this was an example of the humiliation of the bridegroom by the indignant relatives of the bride. An old man whose daughter had recently eloped, being asked if he had dealt out this treatment to the young husband, gave another surprising answer when he said, 'No, he had used the man's name to his face.' The really strict mutual tabu on the names of *atovo* and *imi* (or father-in-law and son-in-law) makes this perhaps an even graver insult than the other.

This humiliation of the bridegroom amounts to a custom (though it is not resorted to in cases of regular exchange or when the match is arranged). The wife's relatives invade the husband's village and strew it with leaves and rubbish; they damage his house and play havoc in his garden. To this vandalism the husband's village submits with the best grace possible under the circumstances, and the bridegroom sits with his head hung in shame, even while, as in one case, a potful of ashes soaked with water is capsized over it.

585 When, in cases of exchange or purchase, both families, i.e. bride's and bridegroom's, are consenting, there may be a definite form of welcoming the wife to her husband's village. This form, however, to which is given the name *asanga*,[1] does not always accompany even the more regular kinds of marriage, and many cases of exchange seem to be absolutely without formality. On the other hand the *asanga* may be given subsequently to a girl who has eloped, as if, from the bridegroom's side at least, to regularize the match.

For the *asanga* a platform is constructed in the village. It has no roof but flimsy walls of frayed palm-leaf. Around it are suspended numerous gaily painted sheets of bark-cloth, which are presents from the husband's village to the bride, and through her to the bride's people. For three or four days (some witnesses have said as long as a month) the

[1] Binandele *ge-Agari*—'the cooking of food', or *asunde*—'the sitting down'.

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bride sits here daily, and dishes of food are presented to her by members of the husband's village. Of course she cannot eat such a quantity of food herself but distributes it in turn among the donors.

She does no work, nor is she bound to sit in state the whole time. She occasionally mounts the platform during the day, and by night sleeps indoors with her husband. At the end of the *asanga* she is loaded with ornaments and taken to see her husband's garden, and from then on lives the toilsome life of ordinary wifehood.

Except for these two forms, the *asanga* or welcome on the one hand, and the dragging away of the bride and the humiliation of the husband on the other, there are, as far as I know, no actual ceremonies of marriage. There is nothing in the nature of a sacrament, and nothing to celebrate the first married union of the couple.

*Marriage Payments.* The actual marriage payment takes place after the husband and wife have been living together for some time. The price is called *dorobu*, which, as natives have explained, is a compound of *dora* (wealth in the shape of ornaments) and *obu* (pots). It varies considerably in quantity, but always comprises ornaments (*bambo*), feather-sets (*di*), a quantity of garden food, and one or more pigs. In one typical instance the bride-price consisted of 10 ornaments (including *peremo*, *bono*, *huave*, *saima*), of 38 sets of feathers (14 of cassowary feathers, 16 of hornbill, 5 of parrot, 1 of the Bird of Paradise, 1 of the hawk *Guvera*, and 1 of a red and black bird *Ungaiavo*), of a great tower of taro, bananas, and coco-nuts, and of a pig. The feather-sets are affixed to a spear driven into the ground. The taro is usually tied in bundles about a betel palm, or two palms growing close together between which cross-pieces are tied in the manner of a ladder. In many cases the whole payment is not made on one occasion. A man of Wasida, for instance, has given six pigs for his wife in instalments of 2, 1, 1, and 2.

The payment for the bride is never an entirely private transaction between the husband's family and the wife's. The whole clan as well as the maternal relations will com-

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583 tive, peoples is their love of making gifts; but not less characteristic is their habit of expecting a return. Even the friendliest and most hospitable of transactions are in the nature of a 'square deal', and marriage, whenever it is carried out regularly, is no exception to this rule.

583 581 Regular marriage is not only a contract between individual man and wife, but, economically, is a transaction between two clans. The woman passes into the ownership of her husband's clan. The communal nature of the transaction is evidenced by the fact that the clans as a whole give and receive the bride-price, and further by the fact that, as we shall see, they appear in united force at the ceremony of 583 payment. The position of the widow is in keeping with the 587 same idea. Having entered her former husband's clan she belongs to it after his death and may automatically become the wife of one of his 'brothers'. I have an instance of a son marrying one of his father's widows, and a fairly old one at that. The woman, however, is not in any sense bound, and in the majority of cases that I have noted her second marriage is with an outsider. In such event the payment for the widow (which is much smaller than that for a maid) goes normally to the former husband's people; though very commonly some additional payment is made to the woman's own people, who are thus paid twice for the one woman. I cannot say whether this additional payment is complimentary, or whether it may have some relation to a *bi-dorobu* paid in the first place.

### *Transfer of the Bride-price*

585 The actual taking over of the bride-price, which occurs some time after the union of husband and wife, is, from the clan point of view, the legalizing of that union. There may be some considerable delay. In one case the bride's people were constantly blowing the *hui* to advertise the fact that they were still awaiting payment and to expedite a settlement by putting the bridegroom's village to shame.

[583] When the *dorobu*—which includes a great quantity of food—has been got together, the supporting clans of the husband's people are invited to the village. Here they will

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585 meet the supporting clans of the bride's people, who come in a body to take receipt of the payment. The proceedings are very warlike. The bridegroom's clans are the first to gather, and each body as it arrives will enter the village fully armed and at the charge. This warlike manœuvre (called *esu*) is highly characteristic, and I will proceed to describe an actual instance of paying the bride-price in which the *esu* was performed with great spirit. The bridegroom belonged to the village of Totemburari, and his clansmen were awaiting the arrival of their supporters from Poho and Koninida. These latter had already joined forces on the track. Now they enter the village at a steady run uttering loud shouts, or rather a continuous roar, while the Totemburari people, who have rushed to arms at the first signs of their approach, range themselves in a close-set line facing the entrance to the village and brace themselves as if in readiness to receive an assault. The Poho and Koninida people as they draw near suddenly split into two bodies diverging to either side, and then sharply turn about and come to a halt forming one line, with the Totemburari people in the centre. Now without a pause the latter advance at the same steady run to the entrance of the village where they face about and stand glowering at the newcomers. After a few moments they charge back and occupy their previous position in the centre of the line. The whole body of warriors stands thus for a matter of five minutes while a few individuals perform excited excursions. Then their attitude suddenly relaxes and the visitors sit down and are made welcome.

These preliminary manœuvres did not compare with the actual reception of the bride's people. These, who had first collected themselves in Korisata some miles distant, entered the village in a solid phalanx. The husband's people having ranged themselves in a wide half-moon advanced to meet the charge, and considerably outnumbering the newcomers swept round either flank and took them in the rear. The Korisata faction, assailed from every direction, sometimes stood their ground and sometimes made determined sallies. The proceedings appeared to grow more and more

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585 confused, though real clashes were carefully avoided, until at length the two companies found themselves facing one another at either end of the village. While both maintained their threatening posture the leader of the Korisata party (i.e. the bride's), named Tembari, advanced across the open space and harangued the supporters of the bridegroom, pausing repeatedly to shake one or other of them by the hand. Having said his say he retired backwards, leaping and dodging from side to side, and striking the front of his shield with the handle of his stone club, evidently pretending to fence off an attack from the Totemburari party. He was followed by the latter's leader who delivered a harangue in his turn; and he again by others from either side.

These individual harangues consist for the most part of half-serious threats. The two factions have been at enmity before (probably the same could be said of any two factions among the Orokaiva clans), and it is not impossible that they may be at enmity again. One man, dancing and brandishing his spear, shouts that he once killed a man of Korisata and he may yet kill another; so let them look out. Another says the people of Totemburari and those of Korisata have fought before, and it is only the fear of the Government (touching the village constable's handcuffs with the point of his spear) that prevents them from fighting now. A vociferous old woman who holds the arena for some time informs the Korisata party that they need not imagine, because they are receiving all these gifts and this great quantity of food from the Totemburaris, that the latter were afraid of them.

Very commonly again, one may hear indignant comparisons of the present *dorobu* with some previous gift made by the one party to the other. On such an occasion old grievances may be revived and in the excitement of the moment may lead to a real clash of arms. Yet this is not often the case. As a rule the fiercest denunciations end in a smile and a hand-shake and good humour prevails over the whole scene.

When these harangues have come to an end and the overheated warriors have slaked their thirst with coco-nuts and

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refreshed themselves with betel, the *a-dorobu* is set out. 585
Some one brings forward a spear to which are attached the feather-sets and drives it in the ground before the high column of taro; the *bambo* are placed on a mat, and the pig is brought out by two of the bridegroom's people. (In the instance I have been describing the bridegroom was one of them.) At a word from the leader of the opposite party two or three young men will rush forward, scale the column of taro, and beginning from the top hand down the bunches from one to the other. Tembari, the leader of the Korisata party, plucks the spear out of the ground and carries it to his own people, followed by another man of importance with the *bambo*. The actual father of the bride, an old man, bears no very active part, but shares out the ornaments among various of his own party and assists in allotting the heaps of taro. Great excitement prevails even in seemingly unimportant details. When, for instance, the leader tells his people to begin cooking, he shouts 'Cook your food!' four times in rapid succession, and when they run for firewood they hop and dance and shout themselves hoarse.

While the sharing of the *dorobu* is in progress, Tembari faces a number of the bridegroom's people and addresses them. He shakes hands with the bridegroom again and again and adjures him to treat his wife kindly, not to quarrel with her, and never to speak ill of her father and mother. He turns to the bride and soundly scolds her for having run away with her husband at such an early age; he reminds her that her mother did no such thing (and harps on this subject for a long time, while the shamefaced young bride looks at the ground). He addresses himself with repeated handshakes to several others in turn, and particularly to one elderly man who, it appears, had the reputation of an ill-tempered husband. Still holding him by the hand Tembari turns to the bridegroom and cries, 'Do not be like this old man who used to beat his wife.' At this there is a flutter of amusement among the bystanders in which the old man in question joins somewhat grudgingly. Tembari concludes his address by turning suddenly, catching up a spear that is stuck in the ground behind him, and racing back and forth

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585 in the open space of the village with shrill cries and shouts. The old man who has gone back to sit with his people, viz. those of the bridegroom, now springs to his feet and rushes upon Tembari with rage and indignation fairly flashing out of his eyes. The two performers in this very characteristic scene swerve and avoid one another with amazing skill. The old man is shouting that his wife did not cook for him nor look after his comfort and therefore deserved to be beaten. After one or two almost hair-raising dodges the two retire from the arena in the best of good humour, the old wife-beater's face covered with smiles.

The proceedings come to an end towards evening, when after a feast the several parties disperse. Neither bride nor bridegroom has borne a part of any importance. The former has for the most part been a spectator from a house verandah.

The martial demonstrations which have been described in the foregoing pages, especially the charge and counter-charge known as *esu*, are very commonly associated with the marriage payment, but they are by no means restricted to this occasion. Nor, on the other hand, is the marriage payment always accompanied by an *esu*. It is said that where villages are entirely friendly there will be no such seemingly hostile demonstration, and that the bridegroom's people may even take payment to the village of the bride. I do not know that the *esu* is ever performed at the acceptance of a *bi-dorobu*. The occasion above described is of course that of accepting an *a-dorobu*, or bride-price.

### *The Four Forms of Marriage*

583 It remains to consider and compare the four forms of marriage, or the four methods of obtaining a mate, which were named in the beginning of the chapter. It will be understood that the following remarks refer to marriage as it obtains among the Orokaiva, and are not meant necessarily to apply to the usages of other primitive peoples.

583 727 [266] Marriage by capture has been of very frequent occurrence. It was the practice in cannibal raids to kill and eat the men and the older women, but to make captives of any women who were sufficiently young and attractive. It is not to be

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*Reasons for Raiding*

721 The reasons for the inter-clan fighting are easy to understand: they are in the main nothing more than quarrels between hot-blooded neighbours. The reasons for the deliberate raid or *isoro*, which involves cannibalism, are not so obvious. Very commonly the raid was meant to avenge [602] some previous victim, for vengeance was absolutely imperative to the relatives of a slain man; and the expression for revenge itself is an interesting one, viz. *diroga-mine*, or an 'exchange of *diroga*', the latter meaning the spirit of a man slain in fight in contradistinction to the spirit of one who has died in any other way. Instances of compounding are apparently rare, and it may be (though I cannot speak with certainty) that the practice of compounding for death obtains between clans only, and not between tribes. The [628] compensation or blood-price, consisting of pigs and ornaments, is called *dorobu*, which word stands also for marriage payment. Between tribes, however, who normally stand in the mutual relation of *kitobu* it would seem that such amicable settlement is rare if not impossible. To show how im- [165] perative is the need for revenge I may mention the former rule that the widow of a man slain by an enemy tribe must continue her seclusion until the capture and killing of a man from that tribe made it possible for her to emerge from it.

I cannot find any binding ceremonial necessity for a raid other than the one just mentioned (and that is really a reason for returning a raid, not for making one in the first place). It appears that the corpses of victims were used in • [585] payment for marriage, either *a-dorobu* or *bi-dorobu*, or for gifts between relatives. But this was probably a matter of convenience: I have no evidence that a corpse was *necessarily* part of the marriage payment. Then again there is the matter of homicidal insignia. Although these are sometimes [881] called *otobu* in common with the *otobu* given at initiation (*vide* pp. 201 ff.), it is not to be supposed that the latter were necessarily homicidal, i.e. that the killing of an enemy was demanded before a youth or girl could pass through the ceremony of receiving an *otobu*. In short, I do not know of